

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 NATO 07408

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, PFOR, NATO, UN
SUBJECT: JULY 29 NATO CONSULTATIONS ON SSOD: ITALIAN
PAPER OUTLINING THOUGHTS ON SSOD

1. DURING JULY 29 NATO POLADS CONSULTATION ON SSOD
(SEPTEL), ITALIAN REP PRESENTED PAPER OUTLINING PRE-
LIMINARY ITALIAN THINKING ON SSOD. HE SAID PAPER IS
COMPLETELY INFORMAL AND UNOFFICIAL. IT HAS NOT BEEN
APPROVED AT HIGHER LEVELS WITHIN GOI AND SHOULD NOT BE
REGARDED AS PRE-JUDGING ANY FINAL GOI POSITION. IT
WAS CIRCULATED AT A RECENT MEETING OF EC DISARMAMENT
EXPERTS.

2. BEGIN TEST OF MISSION TRANSLATION OF ITALIAN PAPER:
THOUGHTS ON A POSSIBLE FRAMEWORK FOR A PROGRAM OF
OVERALL NEGOTIATIONS ON DISARMAMENT

INTRODUCTION

THE UNITED NATIONS MUST BE, AND ACTUALLY IS, DESPITE
SOME UNAVOIDABLE IMPERFECTIONS - AN INSTRUMENT FOR
PEACE. THIS PEACE MUST, HOWEVER, BE GUARANTEED AND THERE
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DO NOT SEEM TO BE ANY VALID ALTERNATIVES TO A RENEWED
EFFORT FOR ITS PERMANENT DEFENSE. IN ORDER THAT THIS
PEACE SHOULD BE BUILT ON A SOLID BASE, THE DOCUMENTS
THAT WILL BE ADOPTED BY THE SPECIAL SESSION MUST INDICATE
CONCRETE GOALS TO BE PURSUED. THESE GOALS BECOME
INSERTED IN A STRUCTURAL POLICY WHICH PUTS AN END TO
THE DEEP-SEATED CAUSES OF INSTABILITY. SUCH A POLICY

MUST BE FOUNDED ON DISARMAMENT, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF DETENTE AT THE WORLD LEVEL, THE DEVELOPMENT OF PACIFIC MEANS FOR THE SOLUTION OF DIFFERENCES AS WELL AS - BUT IN PERSPECTIVE - THE GRADUAL ELIMINATION OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL DISPARITIES.

A. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

- (1) THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE MATTER OF DISARMAMENT ARE ESSENTIAL FOR PEACE AND HAVE GENERAL REPERCUSSIONS. THEY CAN BE INFLUENCED BY INTERNATIONAL EVENTS BUT DO NOT FAIL IN TURN TO CONSTITUTE A POSITIVE DYNAMIC FACTOR IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ITS ENTIRETY.
- (2) THE GREAT MAJORITY OF COUNTRIES HAVE EXPRESSED DETERMINATION TO PROCEED ALONG THE DUAL TRACK OF GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT AND OF NEGOTIATING SPECIFIC MEASURES. THE TWO QUESTIONS ARE IN FACT CLOSELY BOUND TOGETHER AND THE GOAL OF THE SPECIAL SESSION SHOULD BE TO COMBINE THEM HARMONIOUSLY.
- (3) THANKS TO EFFORTS WHICH NOW GO BACK MORE THAN A QUARTER OF A CENTURY, THE UNITED NATIONS HAS DOUBTLESS OBTAINED SOME PROGRESS IN THE FIELD OF CONFIDENTIAL

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DISARMAMENT EITHER BY SETTING UP SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS (ANTARCTIC TREATIES, OUTER-SPACE TREATIES, ETC.) OR IN ADOPTING A CONSIDERABLE SERIES OF PRINCIPLES WHICH WOULD CONSTITUTE SO TO SAY A DISARMAMENT "CHARTER". (SEE FOR EXAMPLE THE PRINCIPLES APPROVED ON 20 DECEMBER 1961 AND ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WITH RESOLUTION 1722 (XIC)).

- (4) IN ORDER THAT THE PROCESS OF DISARMAMENT SHOULD NOT CREATE A LACK OF BALANCE OR REINFORCE PRIVILEGED POLICIES, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO ADOPT COLLECTIVE SECURITY MEASURES AND PROCEED WITH THE STRICTEST POSSIBLE VERIFICATIONS MEASURES.
- (5) THE PROGRAM OF ACTION ON THE MATTER OF DISARMAMENT, WHICH WILL DOUBTLESS BE ADOPTED BY THE SPECIAL SESSION, SHOULD BE CONCEIVED COHERENTLY, GLOBALLY AND BE WELL STRUCTURED SO AS TO PROVIDE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WITH CLEAR GUIDELINES. THE PROCESS OF DISARMAMENT COULD THUS FOLLOW A RATIONAL COURSE FROM ITS INITIAL OR PRIORITY STAGES UP TO ITS FINAL ACHIEVEMENT: GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT UNDER

EFFICIENT INTERNATIONAL CONTROL.

B. MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE PROGRAM

THE SPECIAL SESSION WILL HAVE TO PUT THE FINISHING TOUCHES ON AN ACCEPTABLE PLAN WHICH SHALL BE CARRIED OUT IN SUCCESSIVE STAGES BUT WITHOUT A RIGID SCHEDULE.

THE SPECIAL SESSION WILL HAVE TO EXAMINE THE PRIORITY MEASURES TOWARD WHICH THE FIRST EFFORTS WILL HAVE TO BE EXERCISED. IT WILL THEN HAVE TO IDENTIFY THE POINTS

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OF DISAGREEMENT AND INDICATE THE BASES FROM WHICH A COMMON LINE CAN BE ADOPTED.

C. PRINCIPLES OF THE PROGRAM

- I) A CERTAIN "FLEXIBILITY" IN THE APPLICATION OF THE PROGRAM MUST BE FORESEEN.
- II) EQUILIBRIUM SHOULD BE MAINTAINED BETWEEN THE MEASURES WHICH ARE TO BE TAKEN IN THE VARIOUS SECTORS OF DISARMAMENT: THUS, NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT SHOULD GO TOGETHER WITH CONVENTIONAL DISARMAMENT.

A CERTAIN COORDINATION COULD IN ADDITION BE ENVISAGED BETWEEN OVERALL DISARMAMENT AND REGIONAL DISARMAMENT.

- III) THE CCD HAS THE NECESSARY EXPERIENCE AND HAS PROVED ITSELF ABLE TO CONTINUE TO OPERATE AS THE

PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENT OF NEGOTIATION; IN FACT, THESE
NEGOTIATIONS ARE BECOMING MORE AND MORE COMPLEX AND
TECHNICAL.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CCD HAS ALREADY STARTED TO REVISE
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ITS STRUCTURES IN ORDER TO GIVE ITSELF A MORE REPRESENTATIVE AND EFFICACIOUS CHARACTER.

PRIORITY PROBLEMS

THE QUESTIONS TO BE EXAMINED WITH PRIORITY COULD BE:
NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT; REDUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS;
PROHIBITION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND OTHER WEAPONS FOR
MASS DESTRUCTION.

AS FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, THE CONTINUATION OF CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION RETAINS A REMARKABLE IMPORTANCE. CHINA, FRANCE AND THE UNITED KINGDOM SHOULD BE ABLE TO JOIN IN WHEN THE MOMENT COMES.

IN A FIRST PHASE, AGREEMENT SHOULD BE REACHED ON THE COMPLETE HALT OF ANY NUCLEAR TESTING; AFTER THIS, ONE SHOULD GO ON TO EFFECTIVE DISARMAMENT.

PARALLEL EFFORTS WILL HAVE TO BE EXERCISED FOR STARTING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE REDUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS AND ARMED FORCES. AT THE SAME TIME, URGENT MEASURES FOR PROMOTING COOPERATION WILL HAVE TO BE TAKEN SO THAT THE DANGEROUS AND COSTLY CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENT RACE SHOULD CEASE.

FOR THIS, ONE COULD CONCEIVE OF:

(A) PILOT STUDIES - FOR EXAMPLE, AMONG A GROUP OF STATES ON A VOLUNTARY AND RECIPROCAL BASIS - TO EXPERIMENT AND ELABORATE COLLECTIVELY ON AN EFFICIENT SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL ACCOUNTING FOR MILITARY EXPEND-
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ITURES SO AS TO ARRIVE AT A REDUCTION OF THE MILITARY BUDGETS.

- (B) PREPARATORY STUDIES FOR THE RECONVERSION OF

ARMAMENT INDUSTRIES IN THE MAIN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES;
IT WILL BE A MATTER OF FORESEEING ALTERNATIVE PRODUCTION
LINES WHILE MAINTAINING CONSTANT EMPLOYMENT LEVEL.

- (C) PUBLICATION BY THE UNITED NATIONS OF DATA ON
PRODUCTION AND TRANSFER OF WEAPONS AND THE REFINING
OF AN EFFICIENT SYSTEM FOR THEIR ELABORATION.

- (D) THE CREATION, ON THE BASE OF ARTICLE 29 OF THE
UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, OF A COMMISSION SUBDIVIDED INTO
REGIONAL SUB-COMMISSIONS IN WHICH COMMISSION THE
LARGEST SUPPLIERS OF WEAPONS IN EACH REGION WOULD
PARTICIPATE. THIS COMMISSION WOULD HAVE THE PURPOSE
OF MAINTAINING CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENT AT THE LOWEST
POSSIBLE LEVEL.

IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THESE
SUBSIDIARY (REGIONAL) ORGANIZATIONS WITH THE CONSENT
OF THE INTERESTED PARTIES, ONE COULD ENVISAGE SEPARATE
PARALLEL COMMITTEES OR GROUPS WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THE
PURCHASING COUNTRIES.

FOLLOWING THESE ACTIVITIES, AN AGREEMENT FOR THE PRO-
GRESSIVE ELIMINATION OF CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS COULD BE
CONCLUDED AND THE FIRST DISARMAMENT MEASURES ADOPTED.

WHILE ADOPTING AN OVERALL PROGRAM FOR DISARMAMENT, THE
FOLLOWING SHOULD BE ENVISAGED:

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- SPECIFIC MEASURES FOR THE SETTING UP OF AN INTER-

NATIONAL ATMOSPHERE OF TRUST;

- DETAILED STUDIES ON THE PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE APPLICATION OF PEACEFUL MEANS FOR SOLVING INTERNATIONAL DIFFERENCES;
- A NEW EFFORT FOR COMPLETING THE EXISTING REGULATIONS FOR THE OPERATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR MAINTAINING PEACE;
- STUDIES/NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT SETTING UP A UNITED NATIONS POLICE FORCE (ARTICLE 43 OF THE CHARTER) AND THE CREATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR SUPERVISING THE APPLICATION OF DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS IN FORCE.

OTHER ELEMENTS

FINALLY, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO EXAMINE OTHER PROBLEMS CLOSELY TIED IN WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS ON DISARMAMENT: BALANCE, VERIFICATION, UNIVERSAL PARTICIPATION, WORKING METHODS, ETC. END OF TEXT. PEREZ
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